VERNACULAR, CONSERVATIVE, MODERNIST: THE UNCOMFORTABLE 'ZONE 6' (ALGARVE) OF THE PORTUGUESE FOLK ARCHITECTURE SURVEY (1955-1961)

RICARDO AGAREZ

Introduction

When Artur Pires Martins (1914-2000), Celestino de Castro (1920-2007) and Fernando Torres (1922-2010) set out in 1955 to record the folk buildings of Algarve for the nationwide survey 'Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa,' including it in 'Zone 6' along with parts of the neighbouring Alentejo region, they faced a delicate task. In its stated general purposes, the project included redressing Portugal's reputedly false regional stereotypes. The turn-of-the-century 'Casa Portuguesa' program, which sought an antidote to Beaux Arts eclecticism in original traits of *Portugueseness*, had been popularised by both architects and non-architects in formulas that came to embody, in the 1940s, a key axis of Portuguese national identity: regional diversity (Branco, 1999; Leal, 2000; Melo, 2001). The southernmost province of Portugal, with extant traces (real and imagined) of a remote, exotic Moorish past and markedly Mediterranean physical and cultural characteristics, had an essential part to play in this kaleidoscopic construct of Portuguese diversity/unity. As such, it had been duly typified in public and private building initiatives throughout the first half of the last century, before being taken by the tourism phenomenon to a wider scope and scale. The Zone 6 team scooted (literally) through Algarve

imbued with a clear impression of the region's stereotype, and their part in the survey was devoted to dismantling it.

However, Algarve had not been a straightforward case of built identity construct, simply based on stereotypes issued from metropolitan centres towards peripheral contexts, but rather an intricate process of negotiation and exchange, in which local and regional agency actively took part, and whose strength underlay other, more transient trends. Among other reasons for Algarve's specificity – which I have recently detailed in my study "Regionalism, modernism and vernacular tradition in the architecture of Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965" – one emerges as paramount for my argument here: the region's extant built environment, the basis for this built identity construct, had engaged both the modernist sensibility towards Mediterranean vernacular rationality, *and* the conservative, pastoral interest in the picturesque, in a manner unique within the Portuguese context. In fact, the Algarve case is one where the boundaries between the modernist and conservative stances, often seen as opposed, most visibly collapsed. When the Zone 6 team attempted to dismantle Algarve's stereotype, they eventually found themselves enmeshed in some of its original misgivings and had to deal with features that, other than part of the stereotype, were part of the reality around them. To their modernist eyes, and within a project aimed at exposing superficial regionalism, dealing with the Algarvian vernacular was an unexpected challenge.

Debunking stereotypes, or the value of diversity

> *Portugal lacks unity in what concerns Architecture. There is not, absolutely not, one 'Portuguese Architecture' or one 'casa portuguesa'. (…) Between the houses of Fuseta and those of Lamas de Olo, there are barely any links…* ([Amaral], 1988 [1961])

For the authors of *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* (1961) and of the 'Inquérito'

that supported it, the country's folk architecture was essentially diverse, as varied as the many different geographic, climatic, topographic, material, technical, social and economic circumstances that had produced it; an architecture 'that was no longer properly Portuguese but existed, in multiple and diverse expressions, in Portugal.' (Leal, 2000: 176) Survey and book should, furthermore, allow the authors to demonstrate that folk architecture was in fact modern. This, a key point for post-war architects who claimed the right to follow their time with a contemporary stance and against perceived official conservatism, was patent since the project's inception. As one of its proponents wrote, folk dwellings were 'the most functional and less subject to fantasy' and those 'which best suit the new intentions.' (Távora, 1947 [1945]: 11) With the benefit of hindsight, in fact, participants later admitted to being 'necessarily tendentious' by merely looking to confirm what they had set out to demonstrate: a cause-and-effect link with the environment, the rationality of building techniques and the 'authenticity' of materials – to prove, in short, that 'folk architecture was, like all "true architecture," functionality.' (Pereira, 1984: 29) The surveyors' view of vernacular architecture was therefore filtered through their specific agendas, leaving aside a number of other aspects, from variation and distortion to anthropological matters (see Leal, 2011). They focused on regional diversity and the vernacular lineage of modernism as two essential arguments against superficial stereotypes.

Algarve suited both arguments perfectly. In my opening quote, a village in the north of Portugal (Lamas de Olo) is presented as virtually incomparable to the Algarvian village of Fuseta, suggesting (as often before) that Algarve played an instrumental role in reinforcing the diversity of Portugal's folk architecture, by enabling a clearer contrast between extremes. In addition, it was not only different from the rest of the country but also internally heterogeneous. The Zone 6 team referred to recent Human Geography scholarship (Lautensach, 1932-1937; Gouveia, 1938; Ribeiro, 1945) to support their account of the coincidence between Algarve's diverse geographic sub-regions (the mountains or

Serra, the hilly midland Barrocal and the seaside) and the economic background, the types of settlement, and the house-types of each of those areas.

In the discussion of the 'urban structure' of Algarve, Martins's team introduced one point that emerged consistently thereafter: to stress how the fishing centres of Olhão and Fuseta were non-representative of the region as a whole, and how the houses there were 'exceptions in the entire Algarvian coast.' (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 146) The two 'unique' settlements with their predominantly flat-roofed houses were briefly described using well-known sources (e.g. Sérgio, 1941), from which the architects' team borrowed existing explanations for the flat-roof solution and shared in long-lasting perplexities at the fact that other villages in similar conditions had different roofing devices.

They made their point clear shortly after. The section on 'Climate' showed how all over the region, locals ingeniously looked for the best orientation for their settlement, opening windows according to the sun and winds, using elements like porches, terraces, yards and vine pergolas to control sunlight and achieve 'perfect conditions of dwelling' in winter and summer. The impact of climate on traditional building solutions prompted them to address the subject of the terrace roof (locally called açoteia) as representative of Algarve:

> *Widely popularised conceptions on the defining features of a regional Architecture, anxiously sought and light-heartedly understood, do not always correspond exactly to what one can find in a careful, judicious observation. The role of the terrace roof in 'Algarvian Architecture' has been much invoked; however, to the exception of the rural area geographically defined as 'Limestone Algarve' (…) and of the settlements of Olhão and Fuseta, it is fair to say that the terrace roof is not frequent in most of the province*. (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 166)

The authors associated the composite roofing solutions (part terrace, part tiled) of 'Limestone Algarve' to climate and local economy requirements; and again

stressed how special the 'cases' of Olhão and Fuseta were, where 'frequent contact with North African people and traditions, as well as climate affinities,' would explain the assimilation of both the terrace-roof house type and the corresponding organic urban fabric.

However, they noted, in the region as a whole the tiled roof solution had more currency than the terrace roof: in one village 'no flat roofs may be seen, and the tiled roof is widespread,' and in other, 'there is no roofing type other than the tiled one.' (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 138-41) In the 'Construction materials and techniques' section, they gathered further evidence: within the range of roofing techniques used, the double- or single-pitch tiled roof dominated. At the same time, another building feature related to climate, the pátio – not the Andalusian courtyard but the front (or side) yard – was noted as being as common as the mythical açoteia, and as rationally justified: 'Nothing is improvised, nothing is arbitrary, and on the contrary, everything is properly justified and verified through experience.' (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 171)

As it happens, the terrace roof issue was central to one of the declared purposes of the 'Inquérito' – to dismantle the myths regarding Portuguese regional architecture – since it was an essential part of the strongest-held stereotype of Algarve architecture in the first half of the century. This feature had been adopted by conservative spheres as typical and used to symbolise the entire region, while simultaneously exerting a clear fascination over modernist designers for its proximity to rationalist forms. Olhão, in particular (Fig. 1), underwent a process of 'discovery' by scholars, writers, journalists and architects that mirrored contemporary developments in Spain (Balearics), Italy (Capri) or Greece.

Portuguese authors hailed its 'dices of lime' (Barreira, 1909), the box-like buildings that, as if 'projected from Picasso's canvas, (…) intertwine, overlap, cover each other, dismember themselves, the laws of perspective and volume annulled by whiteness and mirage.' (Ribeiro, 1927: 75) English travellers raved about Olhão, whose architecture 'could give points to many a modern young architect priding himself on the functional use of materials.' (Gordon, 1934:212)

Figure 1. Backside of the houses on Rua Capitão Nobre, Olhão, 2009
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

The town was in fact systematically associated with modernism, not least by metropolitan Portuguese architects such as Segurado (1926), Ramos (1931) and Cottinelli Telmo (1933). Concurrently, national and foreign scholars debated the terrace-roof house's origin and evolution, and Olhão became a favourite topic of Human Geography studies (Giese, 1932-1935; Girão, 1935; Feio, 1949; Ferro, 1956; Stanislavsky, 1960; Ribeiro, 1961) that interpreted its special 'pyramidal' growth pattern closely following local, non-scholar views (Machado, 1934; Lopes, 1948). The pictorial analogy of Olhão as the country's 'Cubist' town (Ferro, 1922) was soon well established across all fields of knowledge and, despite the general agreement on its specificity, this particular townscape was later popularised as a surrogate for Algarve as a whole, namely in representations of the region in national and international expositions (Paris 1937, New York and San Francisco 1939, Lisbon 1940) and in tourism propaganda (Agarez, 2013).

Olhão's 'Cubist' feature – its flat roofs – became inextricable from a well-defined

stereotype of Algarve, which served precise official purposes in the 1940s but has since became engrained in the region's image within architectural culture (Caldas, 2010). Therefore, by confining the terrace roof to a precise geography the 'Inquérito' authors meant to expose what they saw as a fallacy, embraced by both conservatives and modernists, and to replace it with a new, 'scientific' approach to vernacular tradition.

Unsurprisingly, in the 'Housing Types' section the architects could not identify one single Algarvian house type, but rather referred to the 'diverse aspects of housing in Algarve', illustrated with cottages from the inland hills, the plains and the villages. The general features of the Algarvian house – which the authors wanted to avoid pinpointing – were limited to its external simplicity, 'very pure in forms and surfaces,' and some layout idiosyncrasies such as the 'importance and significance' of reception spaces over private and service areas.

The discussion of the central or 'Limestone Algarve' type, essential in demonstrating the variety of Algarvian house types, was again clearly inspired by previous descriptions made by geographers (Feio, 1949; Ferro, 1956). In this as in other respects, the architects' work seems to have been closely influenced by the approach of their non-architect predecessors. Intentionally or not, in many points the 'Inquérito' seemed content to complete and illustrate those sources for the benefit of an architectural audience, highlighting whichever points could help reinforce its very specific message.

The ambivalent Algarvian vernacular

For the Zone 6 team, the house-type of Olhão and Fuseta was first and foremost a case of its own, 'different and unmatched in the Algarve province.' Yet the choice of examples to characterise this type as specifically local and not regional suggests the difficulties that its study posed to architects who, as they themselves admitted, were driven both by a precise agenda and by the 'plastic quality' of what they found (cf. interview with Artur Pires Martins, 1999, cit. in Neves, 2001).

Figure 2. Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa. 'Housing ensemble; north façade,' Fuseta (Olhão), 1955 (© Arquivo Ordem dos Arquitectos – IARP/OAPIX)

The description of a set of terraced houses in Fuseta (Fig. 2) invoked a case that would perhaps not qualify as the best instance of vernacular. The exact repetition of the same design and the standardised construction and decoration elements configured a set that did not seem to have grown spontaneously or organically, or to have been built by its inhabitants; rather, it had all the features of a multifamily housing unit, designed and built in one stretch to form one whole street front.

Plans and photographs depicted an example of proto-industrial low-budget housing, serially produced, possibly designed and built by professionals for the fishermen or the canning industry workers. Studying the building practice in Algarve in the early decades of the century, I identified a moment when vernacular building customs were codified into bureaucracy for planning permission purposes and integrated with the sphere of formal design. In the

Figure 3. Viegas Pires house, Rua Sacadura Cabral 6 (Cerca do Júdice), Olhão, 2009. Unidentified designer. Planning permission obtained 21st May 1917
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

1910s and 1920s, a number of examples comparable to those presented by the Zone 6 team were built in both Olhão (Fig. 3) and Fuseta to approved designs, configuring an intermediate layer between the vernacular tradition proper, spontaneous and informal, and the rules and requirements of the construction industry, by which learned architects operate. Designed, standardised and regulated, this invisible layer misled everyone – geographers and ethnographers, picturesque-driven authors, pre- and post-war modernist architects, and the Zone 6 team – into encompassing object of very different extraction under the same category of 'folk architecture'. If these houses proved that vernacular was modern and rational, it was because they *were* modern and rational.

This was part of a wider issue raised, albeit occasionally, by the study and appropriation of so-called 'folk' buildings by architects in the first half of the century: the issue of 'fetishisation' of vernacular features. In Italy, a discussion

on the origins of the Tuscan *casa colonica* raised concerns that the anonymous builders were being fetishised, and that many of the examples celebrated as spontaneous by the architect Giuseppe Pagano (1896-1945) in his studies of Italian rural architecture, for instance, were actually 'designed' by architects (Soffici, 1943 in Sabatino, 2010a: 59). In Spain, it went by unnoticed that the famous 1931 opening issue of *A.C.*, the journal initiated by the GATEPAC group of Mercadal and Sert, featured an example of folk architecture as unclear as the Fuseta one: the row of houses in a coastal village near Barcelona that epitomised a vernacular precursor of the modern 'standard' – of which 'all aesthetic concern' was absent – was chosen by its rationality and seriality, but its origins cannot be said to be clearly spontaneous.

Yet in Algarve as in Italy and in Spain, this doubt was seldom raised. The Portuguese authors-architects appeared to be in awe at the formal and functional qualities of the Fuseta set: the elaborate layout, the cooking area underneath the arched stairway, and the elevated backyard as a terrace over a basement storage room. The back prospect was singled-out and described in enthusiastic terms:

> *The advantage taken from the existing slope and the movement of building masses give the ensemble's back elevation, facing south, a very special character*. (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 205)

These terms, similar to those commonly employed in the 1950s to describe a piece of formal architecture (namely in many project statements written by architects and included in planning applications), were applied here to a work of reputedly vernacular building practice. The team's fascination with the houses of Olhão led it even to set aside characteristic modernist concerns with domestic salubriousness: the interior, windowless bedrooms had 'a very pleasant atmosphere by way of their natural light, which they get from a minute skylight, a squared glass inset in the vault.' As in Fuseta, the Olhão backyards (Fig. 4) with their arched stairways leading to the açoteias and the characteristic 'balloon'

Figure 4. Stairways and chimneys in Olhão, 2009
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

chimneys in full view, were considered much more interesting than the street fronts: these did not 'stand out from the banality of the neighbouring buildings, and lack the plastic quality of their back sides.' (Ibid., 207)

The plastic interest of some vernacular features was thus highlighted against the general 'banality' of street fronts. This was a selective view of extant building traditions, deformed by the authors' starting point: they wanted to find seriality and repetition (as they did in Fuseta) and richly contrasted juxtapositions of pure volumes (as in Olhão), because these were features that architects with modernist backgrounds were looking for as a means to associate vernacular traditions and modern architecture – to enable them to say that there was modernity in vernacular, and not conservative, bucolic, retrograde picturesque. All the descriptions and illustrations were of the more recent part of Olhão (of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries); the original, reportedly spontaneous settlement of fishermen's huts perpetuated in masonry in the eighteenth century was not shown or described. Even the pyramidal growth

pattern of house extension through consecutive turrets (mirante and contra-mirante) was described only in the modern grid, not in the older fabric of Olhão. The Olhão and Fuseta house-type was one of the few cases in Zone 6 whose examples were not unequivocally vernacular, but instead blended features of engrained building tradition with clear signs of formal building practices. With this choice, the team fell, to some extent, in the trap of an 'aesthetic view' on vernacular, the very same mistake it criticised the romantic, early-twentieth-century Casa Portuguesa-school approach for having fomented. Although diverging in the focus (picturesque settings for a romantic sensibility, pure volumes for a modernist one), both approaches were, to a lesser or greater extent, aesthetically driven and superficial.

The uncomfortable decoration

The *offence* of giving in to the aesthetic appeal of traditional features was conscious and problematic for the Algarve surveyors. Introducing a section entitled 'Improvement Elements' ('Elementos de Valorização'), the team's words expressed the discomfort of having to present, under a euphemistic title, features that were essentially Algarvian *and* decorative, and did not quite fit the functionalist grid according to which many other features were selected:

> *It was not without doubts as to the valid contribution of these loose elements to the study of Algarvian regional Architecture, that we have decided to include them in this chapter (…) Considering that vernacular buildings deliberately convey practical concerns (…) or that, at least, aesthetical attitudes do not exist openly, we nevertheless find that very high plastic levels are reached, by employing as formulas nothing but a precise knowledge of materials and a simple and intuitive technique. It seems, therefore, that emotional factors are present naturally (…).* (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 229. My italics)

This confusing disclaimer seems to suggest a previous understanding of vernacular

building practice as purely functional, modified through the survey process by a broader comprehension of this human activity. The ornament in folk buildings was, in fact, a catch in the post-war modernist appropriation of vernacular, an operation aimed at looking for the primary sources of modern architecture in vernacular buildings while highlighting their 'human' qualities (scale, material, technique, site-sensitiveness) as antidotes to the perceived excesses of modernism's mechanical analogies. This *critique within a defence*, of modernism through vernacular traditions, originated a few paradoxical arguments, and the inescapable use of ornament and decoration was among them; it was common to the Portuguese 'Inquérito' and to its Mediterranean predecessors.

In his pioneering studies of Spanish rural dwellings, the architect Fernando García Mercadal (1896-1985) introduced a distinction that allowed him to elude the paradox: one of the lessons in the vernacular Mediterranean house, for contemporary architects, was that its decoration was based not on stylistic knowledge but on spontaneous taste – stemming from the structure, not juxtaposed to it. In his description of the traditional houses of Menorca (Balearics), he appeared to steer away from the functionalist condemnation of ornament when he regretted they had 'exceedingly uniform lines, lacking in expression, deprived of all decoration (…). They are something dead or too strange.' (Mercadal, 1930: 54) For Mercadal, decoration expressed the villagers' 'naturally inventive fantasy' and was part and parcel of Mediterranean folk traditions. As such, it was likely to prompt contradictions in strictly modernist readings, and called for more elaborate interpretations: it should be accepted, and encouraged, as 'derived from construction', visible expression of its underlying 'rational basis'. In an issue of *A.C.* entirely dedicated to Mediterranean folk architecture, Mercadal presented a number of Andalusian villages that supported this alternative reading. The buildings and their simple patios 'without style' were shown as inspiration for urban architecture *because* they were decorated. City life had killed 'all dwelling spiritualisation' and deprived the individual of the 'prime-necessity elements of life,' while the villages' measured, 'rational'

Figure 5. Chimney top in Santa Luzia, Tavira, 2010
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

ornamentation evinced the resistance of individuals to let go of their dwellings' 'lyric elements', and was an example to follow. By showing examples of simple, structural decoration, Mercadal seemed to seek a compromise between the anti-decoration modernist tenets and the allegedly false experiments of academic regionalism; that is, to illustrate a *middle ground* between the two extremes, where there was place for individual, 'lyric' elements as natural components of the human habitat.

Decoration appeared 'naturally' in the Portuguese survey, as it had in Mercadal's (or Pagano's) work, and needed to be somehow framed without undermining the project's aims. The Zone 6 team called those elements 'the links of close kinship': the systematic use of whitewash over a variety of materials as a 'way to model and provide continuity of surfaces,' and 'a certain taste and concern for exterior ornament and ostentation in house building' that transpired in the 'exquisite treatment' of parapets, chimneys (Fig. 5) and patios. In elaborate posts supporting a pergola, they saw 'a tradition grounded on erudite architecture,'

Figure 6. Parapet detail in Cerca do Ferro, Olhão, 2009
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

finding connections between the two spheres. Parapets and chimneys were illustrated and considered 'true motifs of folk art': strongly marked frames brought 'an important play of chiaroscuro' and their decoration was attributed to 'the ostentation that the Algarvian dweller expresses in his house.' (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 230) It should be noted how the structural quality and essentiality of these instances of restrained ostentation were effectively conveyed in the black-and-white photographs included in the book; in reality (Fig. 6), the reputed Algarvian decorative instinct was much more exuberant, and fully explored colours and textures (namely in the parapet, the building's 'forefront', cf. Dias & Brissos, 1994), in a way that the survey did not communicate.

Another motif of 'captivating expressiveness' was shown in a house in the inland hills (Alcoutim, Fig. 7): with a roof-terrace parapet decorated with a ceramic zigzagging grid, it was considered 'a curious example,' albeit not typical, in which 'common elements of the Algarvian buildings are grouped in an original way.' The combination provided a synthetic image of 'architectural unity' and

Figure 7. Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa. 'House with açoteia,' Corte da Seda (Alcoutim), 1955 (© Arquivo Ordem dos Arquitectos – IARP/OAPIX)

'almost scenographic plastic interest' (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 233). Architects such as Raul Lino (1879-1974) and other Casa Portuguesa supporters used this same motif and its elements (namely the zigzagging grid) in their syntheses of the Algarve type, and would have described it in strikingly similar terms (e.g. in 'House in the South,' Lino, 1933). Here, the team's discourse was dangerously close to the very stereotype they were set to dismantle, giving sense to the disclaimers with which they fenced this problematic section of the text. In comparison the lace-like chimney top, the quintessential Algarvian stereotypical element (also included in that 'curious example') was more cautiously described as an adulteration of the pure, 'balloon' chimney (Fig. 5), and scantly illustrated. Finally, the team suggested that the wood-lattice shutters, a failing tradition that could be found but occasionally in Algarve, should be developed and applied in new ways; in this point, they concurred not only with their conservative predecessors, who employed such shutters extensively, but also and most importantly with their Brazilian contemporaries, who were then giving this

Moorish-Portuguese inheritance, patent in their own folk architecture, a most exciting overhaul.

The 'Inquérito' has been signalled as the 'birth of a "modern view" of vernacular architecture' in Portugal (Leal, 2003: 185). Yet in the Algarve section, this 'modern view' had some points in common with other, previous views. Determined to dismantle the stereotype of the Algarve house, this section's authors seem nevertheless to have fallen for that model's aesthetic appeal and to have lost some of their intended objectivity. The Algarvian traditions of building decoration, seen as an embarrassment in a modernist's mind set, were provided with an alternative frame, not without its problems. Such difficulties exposed the tensions and challenges presented specifically by the Algarve built environment: pared-down, elemental and whitewashed for modernists, intricate, exuberant and picturesque for conservatives, but equally seductive for all. More than merely reinforcing the survey's claim of offering covert resistance to state conservatism, and despite those tensions, I see the Algarve section as evidence of the wider attempt to reconcile modernist values with an appreciation of *picturesqueness* – in other words, to explore the *middle ground* that Spanish and Italian were pointing to: the possibility of an understanding, in Portugal, between the pressure of tradition and the eagerness for contemporaneity.

The risks posed by this proposition were many, for metropolitan architects, and sensed even before the book's publication: as one of the survey's authors put it in 1959, 'we may find ourselves enmeshed in an era of neoprovincialism in architecture, retrograde and sickening, comparable to other neoprovincialisms.' (Freitas, 1959: 37) The ghost of a fetishisation of vernacular forms hovered over the 'Inquérito', and was later proved by its lasting popularity with generations of architects. It was their perceived interest, and the new uncontrolled possibilities offered by this showcase of regional and local diversity, endorsed by the country's architectural avant-garde, that raised the critics' concern of 'a re-enactment of recent absurdities, this time by the respectable hands of modern architects.'

(Duarte, 1959: 40) This fear, and the responses it provoked, has dominated Portuguese architectural culture in the past fifty years. The Algarve section of *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* illustrates the inception of such a persistent trope in particularly clear terms.

References

AGAREZ, Ricardo (2010). Olhão, Modern Vernacular and Vernacular Modernism, in *First International Meeting EAHN - European Architectural History Network* (pp. 128-35). Guimarães (Portugal): European Architectural History Network and Universidade do Minho - Escola de Arquitectura.

AGAREZ, Ricardo (2013). Local Inspiration for the Leisure of Travellers. Early Tourism Infrastructure in the Algarve (South Portugal), 1940-1965, in J. Gosseye & H. Heinen (eds.), *Architecture for Leisure in Postwar Europe, 1945-1989. The Journal of Architecture*. London: Routledge, RIBA (forthcoming).

[AMARAL, Francisco Keil do] (1988 [1961]). Introdução, in *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*. Lisboa: Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses.

BRANCO, Jorge Freitas (1995). Lugares para o Povo: Uma Periodização da Cultura Popular em Portugal. *Revista Lusitana*, 13-14, 168-69.

CALDAS, João Vieira (2010). Verdade e Ficção Acerca da Casa Rural Vernácula do Baixo Algarve, in *Cidade e Mundos Rurais. Tavira e as Sociedades Agrárias* (pp. 49-63). Tavira: Câmara Municipal de Tavira.

DIAS, Jacinto Palma; BRISSOS, João (1994). *O Algarve Revisitado*. Lisboa: Lisboa 94 - Festa do Livro.

DUARTE, Carlos Santos (1959). Breves Notas Sobre a Arquitectura Espontânea. *Arquitectura*, 66, 38-43.

(1931). ELEMENTOS 'Standard' en la Construcción. *A. C. Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, 1, 23-25.

FREITAS, António Pinto (1959). Tradicionalismo e Evolução. *Arquitectura*, 66, 31-37.

GORDON, Jan & Cora (1934). *Portuguese Somersault*. London: Harrap.

(1935). LA Arquitectura Popular Mediterránea. *A.C. Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, 18, 15-39.

LEAL, João (2000). *Etnografias Portuguesas, 1870-1970: Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional*, Portugal de Perto. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote.

LEAL, João (2011). Entre o Vernáculo e o Híbrido: a Partir do Inquérito à Arquitectura Popular em Portugal. Joelho. *Revista de Cultura Arquitectónica*, 2, 68-83.

LEJEUNE, Jean-François (2010). The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain. Sert, Coderch, Bohigas, de la Sota, del Amo, in M. Sabatino (Ed.) & J. F. Lejeune (Ed.), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (pp. 64-93). London: Routledge.

LINO, Raul (1933). *Casas Portuguesas. Alguns Apontamentos Sobre o Arquitectar das Casas Simples*. Lisboa: Valentim de Carvalho.

MARTINS, Artur Pires; CASTRO, Celestino de; TORRES, Fernando Ferreira (1988 [1961]). "Zona 6." in *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*, vol. 3 (pp. 121-239). Lisboa: Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses.

MELO, Daniel Seixas (2001). *Salazarismo e Cultura Popular (1933-1958)*. Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa. Instituto de Ciências Sociais.

GARCÍA MERCADAL, Fernando (1930). *La Casa Popular en España*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

NEVES, Rodrigo Ollero (2001). 'Letter to Raul Lino': Cultural Identity in *Portuguese Architecture*. Manchester: University of Salford.

PEREIRA, Nuno Teotónio (1984). *Architettura Popolare, dall'Inchiesta al Progetto*. Domus, 655, 28-30.

RIBEIRO, Aquilino (1927). Olhão, in R. Proença, *Guia de Portugal: Estremadura, Alentejo, Algarve* (pp. 75-78). Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.

ROMBA, Sandra (2008). *Evolução Urbana de Olhão*. Faro: Universidade do Algarve.

SABATINO, Michelangelo (2010a). The Politics of Mediterraneità in Italian Modernist Architecture, in M. Sabatino (Ed.) & J.F. Lejeune (Ed.), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (pp. 40-63). London: Routledge.

SABATINO. Michelangelo (2010b). *Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.

TÁVORA, Fernando (1947). *O Problema da Casa Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Tip. Imp. Libânio da Silva.